R

773 from van Suchtelen,[1] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
[578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until
[231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
• [177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

[2] [See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter[1] described them almost twenty years ago. [178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 797 583 438 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong, barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkamië was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks, [435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 197 ●177 The priest told how the Catholics work here. They try to keep as much of the old culture as possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the 797 old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They 177 use native songs with words in the native lan- 533 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

797 sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the
●177 Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as
[533] they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters,
177 the priest said there was much argument among
578 the priests whether this is right. Krol, how-
[197] ever, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

000 notable.

797 The church in Riangkamiē is built with refer-
●177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1]
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Wae Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1][See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 As Vatter says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got to the point where they said that there are really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They know this. I asked who were really higher in rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong, and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

614 There is no question here but that the Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

We The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex arrangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
55 guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

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614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum. The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
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[Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

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872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they are too old. This is a big reason why there is less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah family. This is clearly the area of least acculturation, although in agriculture and technology they are just as advanced if not more so than in the other areas. For example, witness the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here, and the mother's brother's daughter marriage still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions. Some of these are large and some are small. Some are for the family, and some are celebrated by larger units. Some are celebrated by the entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medicine man, mbako decided when one is needed. Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc., and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his trade from his father, but there are cases where such succession is not followed. There is one in Weol. However, they will never tell an outsider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all know who he is. However, even during a rite, he keeps in the background so that he can be kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the fear of the mission or the government or what? I couldn't get much about the latter, but I will try later. This is amazing!

Wm

191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It
• 177 was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one
831 I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again.
526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games
[171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 As we were sitting in the assistant's house
576 with him and the other guru, a woman came in
123 and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding
832 my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoö, but I forget the terms for the others.
[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not
[197] so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments
[301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mere-schappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
[554] is great vanity here in keeping one's name alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting survival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he comes through Flores and the islands to buy stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts. He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone. And he said that Maumere, which is relatively rich in various products, is cornering a large part of the tusks of Flores. In other places, for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer tusks now, and people are beginning to pay money instead. The Maumere folk, he said, think nothing of money. The real wealth and goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks. He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in originally and told the radjas here that they were the teeth of the naga (which was important locally before that). The radjas paid dearly for them, and soon all the folk here wanted them. Hence, thousands were imported by the Chinese. It may have been the same situation as that which obtains with the mokko in the Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[61] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

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000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 178 622 Formerly, politicians were older than they are today. Indeed, they would not follow a younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] 178 797 177 This led to a long talk about the conflict between generations. Roy says that there is no conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 178 I asked if, if there were a long period of misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

War

648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
•177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

War

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177 and the price the outsiders ask is giving up the old religion.

829
565 The people know nothing about other lands and certainly nothing about their governments. However, they know the names of other countries and a bit about the roles they play in world events. I asked if they knew about demokrasi, and he said that the word is used all over here now, although it is brand new. They don't know what it means. He says that they tend to think that it means a kind of anarchy where anyone can take anything, with no respect for rank. I wonder if maybe in this thoroughly ordered and stratified place, where inherited rank and inequality prevails (rank, class, ritual, respect, etc.), and indeed exists in the very heart of the society, whether when they first heard that democracy meant that all people were equal, this did not sound like anarchy, as they could not imagine an ordered world where there was no rank.

829
648 They know nothing about the actual facts of the United Nations, but they have heard plenty about the "Kumpulan Medja Bundar". [Round Table Conference]. This all came out when they saw the red and white flag and asked what all of this was about. They got the story that there was the Round Table Conference, and that at it Indonesia became free and this was the new flag. The flag was the symbol that produced the story. They also have heard a lot about the United States and that it helped in obtaining Indonesian freedom (perhaps we managed to salvage some touted good will in Indonesia). Beyond this, however, they know nothing of world politics. They did know about the Allies (Bangsa Serikat; Kattenburg says "Pemerintah Serikat"), as they were partly involved in the war. They think that this union, and especially the United States, beat the Japanese. When asked if the Dutch helped, Roy said that they have no thought on this matter, as

794 Catholic, has two wives, but he was adamant.
665 As for Mohammedanism, he says that they are dormant politically, or at least they have been until recently. Now that Dr. Sutomo is here he is becoming a kind of Mohammedan leader. However, the Mohammedans are few and they are important only in Kampong Baru. There was a
798 rumor here on the Japanese entrance that the
203 Japanese were Mohammedans. It went further to the effect that all Christians and pagans were to be killed. The theme was that you had better get your songko boys. There was a new version, when the red and white flag went up. It went that this was really the flag of Islam and that the Christians and pagans would have no voice in the government. He thinks that perhaps this rumor was started by the Mohammedans. It was here that he joyfully parroted several times my word desas-desus [whispering, rumors]. He learns new words fast.

178 The situation here is the reverse of the
797 usual thing. The Catholics are the radicals,
565 in the sense that they are against the old
●177 things which are pagan, and the pagans are the
769 conservatives in the sense that they want to keep the old ways. This will change later, surely.

This led to a long talk about the entry of Catholicism here. Roy admits that he may be the most powerful factor in the fast and one hundred per cent conversion here. He said that the main reason was that he gave good lessons (ketranggan [interpretation, clarification, proof]) and the second reason was that he happens to be a real noble. The latter meant not only that he had a good name and respected rank, but that he was in close touch with and had real privileges in the pagan ancestral stuff. Indeed, his own rank depends on the ancestor cult. If he was willing to take a chance with the new

War

198 religion, when he knew so much about the old
797 ways and his ancestors were so important in
565 it, then this new religion must be all right.
●177 (Here we see the old theme of converting the
769 chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

797 Roy says that they received Catholicism at
175 first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

[614A Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

565 Even now, the asli, the men of real noble
177 descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

797 In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo,
177 converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were
798 slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still
184 holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says
578

War

797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
• 177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[181] ness of the folk stands out, together with their
[152] tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

Wa.

000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

582 marriage was preferred, it was not required, be-
178 cause the boy could also marry a girl of an en-
614 tirely different group from his mother's, for
835 example, Belepe Lolong A or Waktukang.

Nowadays, the easiest thing to do is merely to disregard the mother's brother's daughter stuff, as this requires care in observing that the relative must be at least a third cousin, and they marry in one of the other allowed groups. This is the leeway that the traditional system allows. When it is a question of close figuring, Roy says that they usually ask the priest to settle the situation for them. A good case of this was with the guru's son, who is now in Makassar. He was in love with a Belemang girl, but this was the ama of his grandmother, and the girl was his mother's brother's daughter--cousin via his grandmother, i.e., only a third degree relative. Therefore Roy went to the priest, and the latter (I suspect they are always indulgent in this matter if it is not a first cousin) said that if they were that desperate he would give a special dispensation (he uses a word for this that sounds like isin, but I must ask about this) (idjing). And so the boy was married. The way to do this correctly is for the boy to marry his mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's daughter. This is via the great grandparental generation. Note that it has to go up via women and down via men. This works out all right if one notes that under the mother's brother's daughter rule this brings the proper amas into the relationship (I may be wrong on this and must check on it later).

582 I was much impressed when he said that there
835 is a good reason for the Catholic rule. I had
827 tried to say that it is not in the Bible and
177 that Protestantism had not worked out this rule and yet they were Christians too, that the ancestors thought it was all right and indeed de-

War

582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
●179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[83] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was abso-
lutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
64 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave to-
gether, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc.,
at night. They just fall asleep there, together.
This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that
they get a section of a sleeping bench in one
of their parents' houses. There they bunch up.
Everyone knows where the groups hang out.
Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in
groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the
girls" who are old and widows, and who go back
to their girlhood days and sleep with their
coevals, and have a good time. If this is so,
it is practically a revived age-grade for the
girls who in their youth grew up and slept to-
gether and now at the end of their life bunch
up together again.

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not [593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

584 178 882 Formerly, most marriages were prearranged. This is less true today. Indeed, there was much more forced marriage before, and I get the idea that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases [762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 ●[177] At this point there was a funeral. The other guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

War

581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
[565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave descendants are placed in the system. Above all they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the same for both sexes: behavior, work, and personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in hell could we have clothes if the wives were not always weaving? We can buy shirts and pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore, they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you would like to marry her even if her face is like that of an animal." This literally raised the roof, and all of them laughed, including the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh well," they said, "if she really has a face like a monkey, that's a different thing." They are absolutely adamant, however, that mere prettiness is not enough. If a girl is very attractive, but is bad on other points, no one wants her as a mate. They might like it, but they just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are virgins at the time of their marriage (except the pairs who had sexual relations before, but these marry anyway). This goes for the men as well as the women. I asked what would happen if a man found that his wife was not a virgin. He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it, but that the "marriage would probably not be happy." These little indications show me that there must be a lot of fooling around to give him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
• 177 of the church, and they are of recent origin. There is no native marriage ceremony here. This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There is not even a ceremonial meal.

634 Until 1
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there:
177 Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
[661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1 Liv. in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2 Liv. Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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632 634 622 ●[77] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
	Total	37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

R

Little meat is

262 eaten, and this is done only during feasts. There are some eggs. They do not eat much fish, because they must purchase them. They do buy some food from the local store (never any canned food, because this is too expensive), for example, rice and salt. They do not grow [249] any tobacco.

434 To get the small amount of money they need to buy in the toko, they sell coconuts and anything else they may have, which is usually quite little. Fl. 5.00 in cash is a lot of money for a man here.

264 The people here eat three times a day, a little in the morning, and equally heavy noon and evening meals.

262 574 They like dog meat and also horse meat, but these, like pig and goat, are only eaten at the time of a feast. They say that the main feasts are funeral ones. They also say that the people here have no decided preference and will gladly eat any kind of meat. They [266] say they have no memory of cannibalism except for the eating of the hearts of enemies for 224 bravery in warfare. They rarely hunt. If they 262 do they use a bow and are lucky to get monkeys 624 or pigs. There are no deer here. There is a clear case for meat hunger here, and the only material gain of being a mosa laki is that you [465] are always given a piece of meat when an animal [171] is killed. This is like the Toradja pattern, and shows how much of a luxury meat really is. It is the "government man's salary."

436 178 443 Formerly there was no money and there were no toko. Of course there may have been a few gold pieces, but they were really sacred objects. Today they have little cash.

243 177 788 The irrigated rice fields started three years ago and were instigated by Hadji Akbar of Watu Roga. He went to Mecca and saw the many sawah in Bima, Java, and elsewhere. When

R

243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
●177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of home-spun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

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000 be, the assistant says. Some cotton fluff is
438 sold in the pasar. Thread, however, is not
283 usually bought any more. It is rare and expensive. Thus the wheels and even the hand spindles are busy everywhere.

443 In addition to the market places mentioned before, there is another market in the cycle here. It occurs on the seventh day left out in the arrangement described before (or rather, on the sixth, as there is no market on Sunday), and this is on Thursday, I think. It is at Magekoba, on the way back from Wolowaru, and in the hills above kilometer 33.

[178] The whole market business is new, starting during the last war only. Formerly they did not have a single pasar.

436 Before the Dutch came there was no money
●177 except the Portuguese dinar, which was in gold
[301] of various denominations. The assistant has heard of most of these only, as all of them have long since been melted down for ornaments. He remembers that the one like a silver rupiah was worth about fl. 12.50, and the ringgit sized one was worth fl. 25.00. There were also bigger coins and others which were smaller. There were also lead Portuguese coins, with holes in them like a gobang [a two and a half sen piece]. These too have disappeared because they were melted down to mix with gold to make an alloy.

436 I note that these people stare and stare at
727 my watch and watch band, and probably this is one thing (gold) which they might steal, as it
[301] is irresistible. I note that the women still have gold decorations. Thus the assistant's wife has a pretty good bracelet. There were big troubles when the NICA came in and the people had only Japanese money. Thousands of rupiah were lost in those times. There are just about no more silver coins here. Occa-

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

We There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"

[1 See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a high and a low language, but I wonder if this may not mean that there is merely a polite idiom. Here in this area they all speak the same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the listed posts. One must be respectful to the uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to interclass marriage, and everything depends upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However, the entire upper "nobility" is really integrated with the commoners. That is, there is no heaven descent. They are just like the other people, except genealogically they are ranked a bit higher. All power also depends on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala, started his religious work. He had been converted before this at the school in Larantuka. At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampong lama of Riang Kamië (this is another example of how much and how recently these kampongs have been moved from place to place). In fact, only in these years, all kampongs except Lewoneda were still in the hills. Wailolong was moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in 1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present location.

We.

527 241 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly. Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 614 177 Note the way that the church links with the old cult. I remember almost the first thing I heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by during all this with his father, said that there were plenty of wars between the kampongs here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
● [771] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the gelarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
●[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)[3]. It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] Lic., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2:Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 11, p. 242 -- Analyst]

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567 saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into
977 Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.
565
621 If it is so that the dalu were put in by the
174 Bima administration, perhaps originally there
[614] might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
●177 Pongkor.
177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu
[578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 291 ●177 554 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them then. Otherwise, there is just about no difference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
● 177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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000 "standing." There are plenty of songs. Singing
533 is the greatest art, and I was impressed extremely with the school performance. A priest who was musical said that they are excellent and strange. The new songs like krontjong, omba' putih-putih,[1] etc., are sung only in the towns. Here only a few know them, but nearly all the songs which the majority of the people know are old Manggarai ones. Cornelius[2] said that there are about ten kinds of rhythms in
[562] drum and gong playing. Some are for both sexes, others are for men or for women only.

221 May, June and July are relatively free of
527 work. Otherwise there is little free time. Feasts are the fun times here, and they are largely not at set times.

[526] Soccer is loved and so are horse races.
541 These are not native. They are held either in
525 town or along the road here. This is true especially at harvest time. There is betting.
● [777] Cock fighting has come in a little from the outside.

538 There are plenty of stories. They tell tales while they work in the gardens and especially while they bind corn in the houses. Also, the old people tell stories in the evenings. They tell tales when they are just sitting around and drinking, too.

There are many kinds of stories. A number of them are sung, but many are not. They are never very long, and none lasts for several days as in Ende and Larantuka.

533 There are about ten kinds of songs.

527 For the Catholics, Sundays are free, and the pagans have largely taken this practice over. They are glad to have the day off. Otherwise, the only free days are feast days.

[868] With the dances and singing and story telling
538 there is no regular instruction. There is a decline in interest in the old tales especially,

[1] [i.e., a song title, "White Waves" --Analyst]
[2] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]